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On Horace, *Odes*, IV. 8. 13–22

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The Classical Review / Volume 17 / Issue 05 / June 1903, pp 256 - 258

DOI: 10.1017/S0009840X00208135, Published online: 27 October 2009

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0009840X00208135

How to cite this article:

Ernest Ensor (1903). On Horace, *Odes*, IV. 8. 13–22. The Classical Review, 17, pp 256-258
doi:10.1017/S0009840X00208135

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Six other stanzas follow, in some of which we find the same mingling of the Greek and the Latin rhythm, *e.g.*

If the swán's sweet voice be not heard, but
at death,
If the mute timber wén it hath the life
lost, etc.

The following lines by Cowper 'written during a period of insanity' are entirely on the Horatian model; I quote the first stanza only.

Hátred and véngeance, my eternal pórtion,
Scárce can endúre deláy of execútion;
Wait with impátient reádingness to seize my
Soúl in a móment.

Perhaps the most familiar example of the Latin rhythm is the parody by Canning, published in the *Anti-Jacobin* (Nov. 27, 1797): the verses which he parodied are also of the same type. The ictus falls on the fourth and the sixth syllables, without exception, though the caesura is sometimes after the fourth syllable:

Néedy knife-grínder! whítter are you
góing?
Róugh is the róad, your whéel is out of
órder:
Bléak blows the blást, your hát has got a
hóle in't
Só have your bréeches!

A curious example of the survival of this Horatian type is the metre of the late Mr. F. W. H. Myers' *St. Paul*. This metre has generally been supposed to be an invention of Mr. Myers himself; but it is nothing but the Latin Sapphic, abbreviated in the alternate lines by one syllable. Note the

accents on the first, the fourth and the sixth syllables (p. 19):

Ring with a reckless shivering of laughter
Wroth at the woe which thou hast seen
so long,
Question if any recompense hereafter
Waits to atone the intolerable wrong.

In the following stanzas I insert the ictus marks: the first is normal, the second and third show some characteristic variations, for which there are parallels in other parts of the poem.

Thén in the mídnight stírring in his slúmber
Ópened his vísion ón the heights and sáw
Néw without náme or órdinance or númber,
Sét for a márvel, sílent for an áwe

Stárs in the fírmament abóve him beáming,¹
Stárs in the fírmament, álíve and frée,¹
Stárs, and' of stárs the innúmerable
streamíng,²
Deép in the deéps, a ríver in the seá;—

Thése as he wátched thro' márch of their
arísing,
Mány in múltitudes and óne by óne,¹
Sómewhat from Gód with a supérb sur-
prísing¹
Breáthed in his éyes the prómise of the
sún. (p. 47).

• E. A. SONNENSCHN. E.

¹ These lines have the second and third feet inverted: cf. p. 29 'Ay, and when the Prophecy her tale hath finished,' 'Love be imperishable, love be young' (catalectic); p. 26 'Heard not nor pitied her nor made reply' (cat.). This inversion is employed by Klopstock in the second line of every stanza of his 'Selmar und Selma' (Eickhoff, p. 49 f.).

² This line has a dactyl for the spondee of the second foot; so too the fourth line quoted above from p. 19.

ON HORACE, *ODES*, IV. 8. 13-22.

NON incisa notis marmora publicis,
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae 15
reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
non incendia Carthaginis impiae
eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque 20
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

It will be useful to summarise the difficulties of this passage:

- (a) The ode violates Meineke's canon.
- (b) The burning of Carthage happened thirty-seven years after the death of the elder Scipio, and twenty-three years after that of Ennius.
- (c) The genitives Carthaginis impiae followed immediately by the genitive ejus make the expression exceedingly awkward, as ejus has no connection with Carthaginis.
- (d) Eius is generally agreed to be impossible.
- (e) Calabrae Pierides—'Calabrian Mace-

donians' is a doubtful expression, though defensible. It could hardly have satisfied Horace, especially in the fourth book.

(f) The metre of line 17 is irregular.

The remedies are various, but none suggest any explanation how the verses became corrupted. Some mark a lacuna of two lines to bring the number up to thirty-six. Others omit lines 17 and 28, but l. 28 has nothing against it. Others block out six lines, 16-19, 28, 33. Gow in the *Corpus* gives up the whole ode.

It may be taken as certain that Horace wrote all his odes (not the epodes) in stanzas of four lines each, with perhaps the exception of those early experiments in metre, the fourth, seventh, and twenty-eighth odes of the first book. It mattered nothing whether the metre was naturally in four-line stanzas, as the *Alcaics*, or in couplets, such as Ode I. 3, or in single lines, as in Ode I. 1.

I do not believe that 'Calabrae Pierides' in line 20 is sound. As Page says, 'Although the word *Pierides* had come to mean nothing more than a synonym for "Muses," yet the combination of the two words is hardly happy.' Again, the commentators have not remarked that Horace never ends a sentence in an *Asclepiad* line of this kind two syllables from the end, so as to begin a new sentence with a weakly pyrrhic, as in 'laudes quam Calabrae Pierides: neque,' where the 'neque' sentence is very loosely attached to what precedes. Doubtless writers of Latin verse would feel such a thing to be most undesirable. (Some editions read in IV. 13. 17, 'Quo fugit venus, heu, quove color? decens,' but even so there is really no stop after color.) In the line under discussion it may be urged that there is not really a strong pause after *Pierides*, but there is enough to cause a jar, and this, with the clumsiness of *Calabrae Pierides*, makes me certain that the stop should come after *Calabrae*, and that *Pierides* belongs to the next sentence. I would write:

laudes quam Calabrae: Pieridum neque
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

(For 'neque' standing second in a sentence cp. Ode III. 18. 6, and IV. 5. 14, the former being a sufficiently exact parallel.)

It will be seen that on this view *eius* in line 18 must disappear, as *laudes Calabrae* is now nominative to *indicant*. In fact, *eius* is due to the mistaken punctuation of line 20. The scribe corrected some accusa-

tive into *eius* to make sense of the passage. *Illum* was probably the original word, and the sentence ran thus:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis

illum, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae;

'The inscriptions upon statues &c. do not more clearly mark out him who returned after winning a name from conquered Africa, than do Calabrian praises.'

It will be well to point out what other changes I think necessary in the whole passage, and then consider them together. 'Non incendia Carthaginis impiae' must go, as most commentators agree, and the other line to be cut out is 'post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae.'

The passage then runs:

Non incisa notis marmora publicis,
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis,
relectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae
illum, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quam Calabrae; Pieridum neque
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris.

The words 'post mortem ducibus' I consider to have been a gloss on the 'bonis' of the preceding line. The scribe filled up the line, and filled it very badly, with 'non celeres fugae,' words which violate history, and are not likely to have been written by Horace. He did not wish to belittle the opponent of Africanus, for obvious reasons. The words are, perhaps, a recollection of 'Philippos et celerem fugam.' The other line excised, 'non incendia Carthaginis impiae,' has no friends. A reason can be offered for its interpolation. In *Hor. Sat. II. 1. 65* is an expression very similar to that in this ode,

'num Laelius et qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Carthagine
nomen'—

which refers to the younger Africanus. The interpolator compared these two passages, and made them square with one another by inserting the reference to the burning of Carthage before the line in the ode. He did not see that the word 'meritum' makes all the difference. The younger Africanus 'meruit' the same title for himself, which the elder had won before.

Further, 'qui nomen lucratus rediit' must

refer to the elder Scipio. Horace is recalling, as Peerlkamp pointed out, Scipio's message to the Senate, when they demanded an account of money received by his brother Lucius. 'Cum Africam totam potestati vestrae subiecerim, nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur, praeter cognomen rettuli.' (Peerlkamp's note quoted by Orelli—Hoc unicum erat Scipionis lucrum; alii alia lucra spectabant.) This, with the reference to Ennius, makes it certain that there can be no allusion to the younger Scipio.

The reference in the first line is now seen to be particular to Scipio, as well as referring generally to Roman heroes. 'Not the statues marked with public inscriptions, by which breath and life return to the good, and the threats of Hannibal flung back in his own face.' Now there must have been at least two statues of Scipio in the Rome of Horace's day. Augustus had erected in his Forum statues of the great generals of the Republic, with laudatory inscriptions (Suet. Aug. 31). There was also a statue of him at the family mausoleum outside the Porta Capena, along with a statue of Ennius. Ovid refers to it in words that seem to show he had this ode in his mind (Ars Am. 3. 409):

Ennius emeruit, Calabris in montibus ortus,
contiguus poni, Scipio magne, tibi.
Nunc hederæ sine honore iacent; operata-
que doctis
cura vigil Musis nomen inertis habet.

The 'laudes Calabrae' are the direct praise of a great man by a poet; that is the 'pretium muneris' of line 12. The best commentary on these lines was written by Horace about the same time, Epist. II. 1. 245-7:

At neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque
munera, quæ multa dantis cum laude
tulerunt
dilecti tibi Virgilius Variusque poetae.

The change from 'Pierides' to 'Pieridum' in line 20 is not great. The phrase

'Pieridum chartae' seems sound enough, and the expression is no more unlikely than one in Pseudo-Tibullus, Pan. Messall. l. 200:

'posse Meleteas nec mallet vincere chartas.'

Chartae does require some adjective, as the whole point is that they must be pages of poetry, not of prose, such as 'Socraticae chartae.' It may be observed that Page seems to have felt the want, for he translates, 'if no poet's page tell of thy great deeds.'

I am inclined to think that by the epithet 'Calabrae' Horace denoted himself as well as Ennius. The point is of little importance. 'Calabrian' was used by the Romans with exceeding vagueness. In fact, so far as that goes, Ennius might just as well have been born at the Rudiae near Canusium. Martial, who knew as much geography as most men, calls Horace Calabrian in three places, V. 30. 2; VIII. 18. 5; XII. 94. 5.

Page remarks that 'In this and the next Ode it is probable that, though Horace addresses Censorinus and Lollius, his words are meant for Augustus. The Poet-Laureate hints pretty broadly to the Emperor that he is well aware of the value of the favour he is bestowing in writing this Book at his request.' This seems true, and it follows that the reference to 'incisa notis marmora publicis' is a graceful compliment to Augustus, who had erected, amongst others, a statue of Scipio.

I will add, as I have not seen it noticed, that Lucius Marcius Censorinus, ancestor of the Censorinus to whom this ode is addressed, was consul B.C. 149, and with Manilius conducted the first campaign of the third Punic war, the younger Scipio then serving as tribune. As the operations were far from successful, Horace would not wish to recall them. But the fact may have suggested the interpolation of 'non incendia Carthaginis impiae.'

ERNEST ENSOR.

A HISTORICAL NOTE ON TACITUS, *ANNALS*, XII. 62¹.

'At Byzantii data dicendi copia, cum magnitudinem onerum apud senatum deprecarentur, cuncta repetivere. orsi a

¹ This article is an expansion of a paper read before the Cambridge Philological Society on March 5.

foedere quod nobiscum ierant, qua tempestate bellavimus adversus regem Macedonum, cui ut degeneri Pseudophilippi vocabulum inpositum, missas posthac copias in Antiochum, Persen, Aristonicum, et